10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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842 groups she is despised. One informant concluded that a man, too, can
[581] be sterile. "How else explain why a man who married five successive
wives merely to have children had no child? Surely not all those
[597] women were sterile." Because of the shame attached to sterility, a
childless couple usually adopts a child—three couples were mentioned
as having done so recently. Sterility is a cause for multiple wives.

[278] A medicinal preparation was known to produce sterility artificially
and was given to a woman whose death had been feared at previous
deliveries. Informants were unwilling to give further information
about it except to say that specialists knew what to give. In all
probability the ingredients used were not common knowledge. Non-
Araucanian herbalists had been asked for medicinal preparations to
bring about sterility. One man wanted it at once, since his baby had
just been born, and he knew the medicine had to be taken by his wife
immediately after delivery in order to be effective. In Collaripe area
a man asked for such a preparation for himself; he wanted no more
children; his family was already large. Sterility was not produced
by treatment with fumes.

According to one of Cooper's sources (1946, p. 733) impotency
was produced in an unfaithful lover in revenge by the woman who
was the unmarried mother of his child. She roasted the testicles of
their infant in a heated pot, an act called kuftun.

[787] Fertility, also, it is thought, can be produced by a medicinal prepa-
ration. An herbalist interviews the sterile woman and then goes home
to dream. The medicinal preparation she dreams of is given to the
woman. Following this the woman can expect to bear children; often
the husband, too, takes the preparation. Several couples were named
who had no children in spite of having taken the preparation.

An 80-year-old man, at the time of the present study, was the
father of three children younger than 10; they were born to his third
wife, a young woman. When the late cacique of Collaripe area died,
at about the age of 100, his youngest child was 6 years old.

[278] Artificial contraceptive devices are not known; medicinal ones are
spoken of. "Specialists know what to give."

SIZE OF FAMILIES

595 In the days of multiple wives each wife bore her husband children,
unless sterility prevented it. Often 10 or more years elapsed before
a man married an additional woman. Generally the newly acquired
wife was a young woman.

162 The number of children in families in areas under my observation

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Courtship and Marriage

Marriage among the Mapuche, as in other societies, establishes the elementary family and provides offspring resulting from the union a legitimate status in their father's patrilineage and reservation community. Marriage also initiates a structural modification in the relationship of two kingroups, insofar as the affinal ties it creates comprise potential series of new role and status relationships, affinal bonds ramifying through a more extensive social aggregate. The birth of children to the marriage sets up additional cognatic relationships and reinforces many of those already established.

Courtship, as distinguished from clandestine love affairs, is a relationship between a young man and woman which is regarded as the proper and romantic prelude to marriage. It has at least the tacit approval of the responsible members of the immediate families of the young couple and receives the full social sanction of the community. The young couple and their respective families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course. With this understanding, courtship also provides a setting for premarital sexual relations on a level of respectability not otherwise attainable in Mapuche society.

This chapter is concerned with patterns of courtship and marriage as these characterize Mapuche society today. It deals briefly with pertinent attitudes toward sex and opportunities for premarital sexual

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tion. If the young man is in love with the girl and feels that she will make a good wife, he will generally marry her. He may not do so immediately unless he already has land and a house of his own or a secure place in his father's household. Often he advises his sweetheart to continue living with her parents until he is able to make preparations to receive her as his wife. Delay might be construed as unwillingness to go through with the marriage, but this is not always the case. Nevertheless, until marriage arrangements have been entered into, this is a tense and anxious period for all concerned.

If a man has no land and his parents are unwilling to take his wife and child into their house, he is in no position to accept the responsibilities of marriage. I know of no case in which a man went to live with the parents of his lover under these circumstances. Indeed, he would not be welcome. The parents of the girl treat him with some distrust until serious marriage proposals have been made. If the young man and his family are in good faith, marriage negotiations may begin at this time. Ideally, they should have been planned in advance. In cases where the young couple are already betrothed, the matter of pregnancy is taken lightly, or perhaps as a sign of fruitfulness, and relatives on both sides lend ready assistance to the young man and woman in providing for a new household.

The situation is more complicated if the young man is already betrothed to another girl. He may refuse to marry his paramour on the grounds that his family has already made preparations for his forthcoming marriage. He stresses the obligations he and his parents are under to other relatives who have promised him animals for the bride-price, given labor for the preparation of fields, a house, and so forth; or he tells her that he will not get this sort of assistance should he marry her instead of his betrothed.

This line of reasoning is deceitful since it somewhat exaggerates the material contributions of relatives in marriage arrangements today. Lineage contributions to the marriage wealth are often more symbolic than substantial, except in cases where a lineage decision has to be made on the allotment of land to the young man. A marriage tends to stand or fall on the availability of land. Access to unused land is obtained through permission of the reservation's chief. But on most reservations there is little or no unused land, and a man must obtain his father's consent to use part of the family's fields, rather than seek the permission of the chief or one or more of the other lineage elders. Of course, in granting his son a parcel of farmland a

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mother consulted a witch who lived on another reservation some miles from that of her lover. *Koftun* was performed. The mother buried the infant behind the family dwelling and shortly afterward left the reservation to take up domestic service in one of the regional towns. Her family became impatient for results and eventually revealed to the young man that *koftun* had been made against him and that he was bewitched. (The theme of revelation runs through many of the accounts of the supernatural.)

The young man is said to have become despondent, soon leaving the reservation. He went to Argentina for several years and worked as a ranch hand before returning home. Within a week of his return he went into the woods behind his house and cut his throat. The community considered this action pathetic and unnecessary, since the thing for the young man to have done would have been to father several children before the *koftun* magic took effect. There is the notion that the supernatural agent is slow-working and sometimes a man will have several months or even years of virility ahead.

While abortion is fairly common among unwed mothers and *koftun* rare, as far as I know, the most typical reaction seems to be a resolve not to become pregnant again until married. Of seventy-three women above the age of twenty-five living on three of the reservations I studied in 1953, sixteen, or more than 20 per cent, admitted to having (or were said to have had) at least one out-of-wedlock child. Most of these women eventually married the child's genitor. Some of them married other men, or at least did not know the biological father's identity. A good many aborted or tried to abort. Only three never married, although they are still young enough to marry.

Having one out-of-wedlock child is generally considered a misfortune, but a characteristic human error and not an insuperable barrier to eventual marriage. A young woman with more than one illicitly conceived child, however, is felt to be promiscuous and undesirable as a wife. Such a woman, if she ever marries, may have to carry a large dowry and perhaps marry a widower, an old polygynist, a poor Mapuche who is willing to reside uxorilocally, or a "renegade" or *mapuchado* white.

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Arranged marriage need not imply indifference to the feelings of the young couple involved, although they are sometimes ignored.

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584 It may be defined rather with regard to family sponsorship through
583 the exchange of marriage wealth and contingent supporting activities entailed in the good offices of close relatives. Arranged marriages continue to be the easiest means of obtaining a spouse. Under conditions of reservation living, which involve scarce land and material impoverishment, marriage is contracted only with family approval, unless the young couple is prepared to leave the reservation and shift for themselves in the towns and cities of Chile or on some rural estate.

582 A man looks outside his natal group for a sweetheart or wife. His
592 attentions are most often met with favor and family approval where there are interfamilial links of friendship; and friendship is strongest when based on kinship. The closest kinship ties outside the exogamous patrilineage are between a man and the groups related through his mother or another female allese of his patrilineage – that is, groups related through in-married women of his residential kingroup.

584 Courtship is important in obtaining both the favor of the girl and the approval of her family, but the range of selection is defined matrilaterally.

585 When traditional marriage ceremonies are economically feasible today, they are carried out in close approximation to the recorded practices of fifty or more years ago (cf. Moesbach, 1936:231–69). Sec-

587 ondary unions such as the sororate and widow inheritance have tended to diminish along with the practice of polygyny, but their frequency is by no means negligible, especially when considered in the structural terms which will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

583 As in the past, dramatized bride capture accompanies some marriages (see Cooper's discussion, 1946:720). This involves a mock battle which has been prearranged by some members of both families. Among the modern Mapuche it appears that bride capture is an embellishment on elopement, occurring as part of preliminary marriage steps between proud and important families who are desirous of additional fanfare. Its occurrence is rare.

584 The following account is offered as a generalized description of the way in which a first marriage is contracted today among the Ma-

581 puche. It will be seen that marriage is essentially a family matter in the first instance, and a lineage matter in its broader aspects.

583 Marriage might be initiated by elopement, followed by wedding arrangements and a formal ceremony, or arrangement might follow a courtship which develops smoothly into marriage without the

587 drama of elopement. Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Marriage may be further solemnized by Catholic rites, important less for the religious significance than because church registration and the civil registration which accompanies Chilean marriages establish the legitimacy of heirs in the framework of the national legal code. Such registration also gives a widow stronger claim to land after her husband's death, a claim which will stand up better in the Indian court against the "traditional" claim of the dead man's brothers. 585 428 [477] [571]

Kuteyewen (the act of carrying off the bride), *cupto*, or *robo* involves the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen and, in effect, is equatable with elopement. It is most often carried out with an awareness on the part of the girl's parents that marriage is in the offing, inasmuch as the young man has usually spent months or even years courting their daughter. The exact night of the elopement is kept secret, perhaps being arranged on the spur of the moment by the sweethearts. The groom might take a friend into his confidence to assist him in the escapade. If the girl's parents are known not to be especially watchful, the elopement might take place without any outside help. If the young man fails, or if there is danger of his doing so, another date is set. 583

The young man, then, "steals" his sweetheart from her family in the dark of night when the household has retired. He takes her to his parent's house equally secretively. Both families are apprised of the fact the following morning, the one by the presence of the girl, the other by her absence.

The man's family do not always know of his plan to run off with his sweetheart, and their reactions vary according to the young man's status in the household, their opinion of the girl, their relationship with her family, and the mental adjustments they have made to the young woman's presence in the house. While there are idiosyncratic reactions in these circumstances, events follow discernible patterns.

The day following the elopement, the young man, his sweetheart, and most of the members of his household sit around the fire and discuss the couple's plans and prospects. The discussion is led by the man's father, who for the first time plays a direct and forceful role in the matter regardless of how long it might have been brewing, and who usually admonishes the young couple for being too precipitous and inconveniencing their parents. Almost as a matter of form he suggests that they postpone the nuptials until they are a year or so older. Sometimes this is phrased indirectly by pointing out that the young man would have to be given a share in the family harvest, and 583 581

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583 that this could not be arranged until the following season; or the
581 father will speak of waiting until some arrangement can be made for allotting his son a section of his fields for his own use, a complicated decision requiring much time-consuming deliberation. Since the matter of land is a paramount issue, the father will question his son about how he feels a fair arrangement could be made, taking all his other dependents into consideration. He will sometimes complain that the homestead is overcrowded and would not house an additional family, again suggesting that the marriage be postponed until the question of land and the matter of living accommodations can be settled.

583 These dilatory tactics might continue for a day or more. If the father seems to be losing ground, in the sense that the other household members appear willing to accept the marriage as a *fait accompli*, he might call in one or more of his brothers or even the chief, to back his authority and lend more weight to his arguments. It is said, however, that a father's wisdom sometimes convinces him that the arguments against his son's marriage are illogical and, if there is really no economic deterrent, he generally accepts the situation, saying that he will try to make the best arrangements possible.

If the idea of marriage is wholly uncongenial to the man's father, that is, if he feels that the girl will not do as a wife, he may bluntly tell her that she will have to return to her own household and that no marriage will be forthcoming. This results in a rupture between father and son and precipitates a family crisis. Nor does it by any means cement relationships with the girl's family. The young man's brothers might sympathize with him, feeling that the old man is unreasonable and cantankerous, or they might side with the father, dismissing their brother's plans as immature, impracticable, and possibly a threat to them. The son often leaves the parental roof under these circumstances, perhaps gauging the tone of his parting words by his father's firmness. If the father is sufficiently provoked by his son's action, he may threaten him with disinheritance. If the son feels that he can come to a satisfactory arrangement with his brothers after the old man's death, the threat will carry little conviction and the youth will follow through with his plan of leaving his father's house in angry pride. If the young man is not considered undesirable, he will not be refused a place to live and land to work after the old man's death.

If the girl's parents are not in favor of her marriage, they will come to take her home. Under most conditions she will be released to them.

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as a result of cultural conservatism but for the functional reason of expediency.

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the decline of polygyny we have an example of parental authority operating in the arrangement of interlineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.[9] Whereas formerly, in the prereservation era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became interlineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimized by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sublineage members. The modification in kinship terminology is consonant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage patterns.

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier about land as a factor of utmost importance in the negotiation of marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices.

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between

[9] This is the point made explicit by Gifford, cited and disputed by Leach, 1951:30. Leach writes that "Gifford does not appear to have recognized that such an arrangement would imply a special continuing relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my contention that in Mapucheland such a "special continuing relationship" did develop in postreservation times and that prereservation conditions were inconsistent with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in prereservation days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before sedentary reservation life permitted and even to some extent forced the growth of corporate, localized lineage groups.

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583 [581] the relatives of the bride and groom. Echoing this notion, Titiev writes (1951:101) that "neither party expects to gain very much in these transactions. Any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment." Why then is any payment made? What is the significance of equal exchange? Is there no form of compensation paid to the wife's group for relinquishing a woman? On the other hand, why is there protracted haggling over the marriage arrangements? Why is there mention of the groom's land? Why is there payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the bride? Why is there a payment called *mafutun*?

[581] A mere glance at the last four questions seems to suggest that informants' remarks about equality cannot be taken at face value. Even where items of wealth are clearly movable goods, rather than land, the exchange is not actually equal, although the items of greatest economic value tend to cancel each other. It is incorrect to say that the exchange is roughly equal because *mafutun* and the small cash payment are negligible compared to the value of the other items. This would be to disregard their symbolic content, which alone may be considered compensation to a wife-giving group – recognition of its superiority in this regard.

There is a tendency on the part of some anthropologists to confuse symbolism with survivals. This confusion itself is a survival of earlier anthropological thinking in many instances. I do not regard the haggling, the small cash payment, and *mafutun* as nonfunctional, as survivals of a more vigorous Mapuche culture. The form they take [178] today represents adjustment to changing conditions. Mapuche society as I came to know it in 1953 is undergoing change. It is not, however, a hodgepodge of cultural relics, although, where analysis fails, it is tempting to regard it in this light.

Let us consider marriage wealth in historical terms. Writing of events witnessed around the middle of the sixteenth century in that part of Chile which is now Cautín Province, Mariño de Lovera noted that the wealthiest Mapuche were those who had many daughters to exchange for bride-price (1865:124), implying that on balance a greater amount was paid for women than accompanied them in the form of dowry. Between Lovera's time and the middle of the nineteenth century, accounts suggest that the groom and his kingroup paid heavily for the women they received. The exact manner in which bride-price was amassed is not clear, although chroniclers wrote of the groom calling on his "relatives and friends" for assistance. Such

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any given time the family constellation is a link in this never-ending chain of relationships with the past and the future.

Courtship and Marriage

Marriage brings new elementary families into being and provides offspring of regularized unions a clearly legitimate status in the patrilineage and the reservation community. Marriage is a fundamental expression of institutionalized relationships between unilineal descent groups which stand to one another as wife-giver and wife-receiver. It is a structure which involves rights and obligations surrounding the transfer of wealth between such groups, as well as patterned and traditionally sanctioned primary and secondary unions, separation, divorce, ritual belief and action of a congregational nature, and numerous other aspects of sustained social relationship.[1]

During marriage negotiations and nuptials there is much formal concern with spirits ancestral to the cognatic group most directly involved, the union and in most cases the reunion of the two lines, the preservation of descent groups through the legitimate procreation of children and heirs, the substantiation of traditional values through the correct conduct of the marriage ceremony, and so forth. Mapuche notions of incest-exogamy, sanctioned in myth and story and overwhelmingly observed in practice, are reinforced through a number of symbolic acts connected with marriage.

Courtship is a prelude to marriage within the boundaries of the matrilateral system. Conducted along established lines of wife-giving and wife-receiving lineages, courtship provides the setting for premarital sexual affairs on a level of respectability which receives the tacit approval of the elders of any community. The young couple and their immediate families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course and according to traditional form. Marriage is a reaffirmation of the established bonds between segments of a person's cognatic group of relatives, segments which have a sustained marital

[1] Marriage is discussed in more detail in *Mapuche Social Structure* (Faron 1961a).

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581 [585] relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and established during the several phases of the patrilocal marriage ritual.

582 Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to pre- or extramarital affairs. Even casual affairs take place with [834] [837] almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasionally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or 681 drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by 682 community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage 836 sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place 835 them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a 613 man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

613 While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent 582 complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matrilaterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would

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acting descent groups. It is my feeling, on the basis of my own historical inquiry, that ritual congregations as they are known today are a relatively recent phenomenon (also see Cooper 1946: 49), somewhat more recently developed than marriage alliance groupings, and that the former are exerting their influence on the latter. In short, largely because of considerations of religious morality, the extension of marriage alliances is becoming narrowed to approximate the confines of the regional congregational membership. This seems to be a phenomenon related to the maturity of the reservation system and an indication of the salient place ritual participation occupies in regional identification.

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The possession, loss, and continual recruitment of women is enveloped by strong moral considerations, expressed in public ritual at funeral, birth, and marriage ceremonies, and reaffirmed symbolically on other occasions during one's lifetime. Rights to obtain women from a wife-giving group can hardly be separated from the strong obligations these entail and the payments (of land) without which marriage could not occur. When a man looks outside his wife-giving groups for a spouse his chances are limited by an absence of those very rights and obligations, since he is dealing with people who are either strangers to him or are so committed to other descent groups that any transaction that might be carried out is done so in an atmosphere of hostility and mistrust. When one marries outside the well-defined matrilateral context, one does so outside the area of time-tested rights and obligations, which usually exist between two groups united through a succession of alliances, alliances over several generations which are multiplied in each generation, decade, and year of existence.

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As the wife-giving and wife-receiving system developed into its present matrilateral form, the units involved tended more and more to be identified with a local or regional block of reservations. While marriages outside such a locality continue to be contracted, they seem to be much less frequent than in the past, now that physical mobility has been curtailed and polygyny has declined. Most genealogies show that extra-congregational marriages took place three and four generations ago, during the transitional period when the reservation system had not taken

(2) Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming extensive) and especially of his siblings and immediate family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the death of a lineage mate or his wife.* This is a fact of which they are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt by speaking the praises of the dead (*ewapin*). If any of these people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in abundance as an inviolable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of guild-fellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death. If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

* This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving group. We therefore have a confirmation of social obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of kin-reaching allied ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

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794 significantly high correlation among the eighteen reservations
62 indicated in Diagram II. Those not directly tied together by
602 marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be
[184] mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather than peculiar to the Tolten region.

613 The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual
794 congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the
62 constituent reservations is understandable on two counts. In the first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change,
581 former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching mar-
582 riage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance
[595] than the second point. The second point involves a considera-
[78] tion of the relationship between affinity and sorcery, or the
[754] moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron 1961c; 1962) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matrilateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular
000 system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and, as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that its conceptualization sells short the interaction of systems of marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional entity.

794 In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in
613 marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence
682 to actual relationships than might be expected in a model representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is
621 no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congregation. This latter point is most important for the conceptualization of sorcery and notions of culpability within the context of marriage and neighborhood.

1,2,2 [Errata: see category 116, p. 221, for corrections -- Analyst]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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000 754 527 287 621 community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of the entire community.

754 613 578 Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being practiced for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible, although one may expect certain animosities to result in the practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder-by-witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover; and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

754 673 613 683 The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an [692] [648] appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

754 613 578 Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but between members of its branches. The members of sublineages—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an [423] [428] [581] extended-family group. The greatest danger to sublineage solidarity results from land shortage, which affects not so much inheritance (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for discension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and countercharges of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and *dramatis personae* of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who